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Two Centuries of Ceramics in the Richelieu Valley

by Helen H. Lambart

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Two Centuries of Ceramics in the Richelieu Valley

A documentary history

Helen H. Lambart
Edited by Jennifer Arcand

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Résumé

L'industrie de la poterie vit le jour dans la vallée du Richelieu au dix-huitième siècle, avec les vases de terre cuite des artisans de St-Denis. Elle se développa et prit beaucoup d'ampleur à St-Jean, sous la direction des Farrar. Depuis longtemps, cette famille avait fabriqué le grès au Vermont, avant de s'installer au Québec en 1840. Durant la seconde moitié du dix-neuvième siècle, soucoupes et tasses, plats, cruches, assiettes, théières, crachoirs, vases de nuit et autres articles de terre cuite blanche sortirent des ateliers de St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company et des autres fabriques de la région de St-Jean-Iberville. La concurrence des articles importés se révéla désastreuse. À la fin du siècle, l'industrie de la céramique de la vallée du Richelieu dut se contenter de fabriquer des vases hygiéniques, le seul produit qui demeurait rentable et qui lui permit de survivre après deux siècles de mutations successives.

Summary

Pottery-making began in the Richelieu valley in the eighteenth century with the earthenware vessels of the individual Saint-Denis potters. The craft developed into an important industry in St. Johns with the Farrar family leading the way. They were skilled stoneware manufacturers in Vermont before coming to Quebec in 1840. Bowls, jugs, plates, cups and saucers, teapots, spittoons, chambers and other white earthenware objects were produced by the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company and other factories in the St. Johns-Iberville area in the latter part of the nineteenth century. But the competition of imported ware proved too strong. By the end of the century the ceramics industry of the Richelieu valley was forced to narrow its focus and confine itself to the production of sanitary ware, the one product with which it could compete successfully and survive after two centuries of transmutation.

Biographical Note

Miss Helen H. Lambart, a graduate of McGill in Political Science and Economics, lives in Grenville, Quebec in an old house that she has had restored. The early potters of Quebec first attracted her a number of years ago and she has written on the subject for the National and Historic Parks Branch as well as the Museum of Man. Miss Lambart is a pioneer in the extensive use of Quebec judicial records for research into the material culture of the province. Mrs. Jennifer Arcand who edited the manuscript is a graduate in English of McMaster University and the University of New Brunswick and has taught English at the latter.

It was 1694 before any individual Canadian potter emerged from anonymity. Basically the potter needs only a supply of clay, one of the most common substances of the earth, and the St. Lawrence valley is well endowed with red-burning surface clays highly suitable for brick, tile and simple pottery. Despite this, early attempts to foster some sort of ceramic industry in the area proved dismal failures. In 1636 brick was being made near Quebec but no potters were listed among the 45 trades and professions covered in the Census of 1681. By 1686 a tile works was finally in operation on the banks of the Lairet,[1] and in 1694 a contract is recorded between the owners of the *Briqueterie de Jean Landron* and a Provençal potter, one Aubain (or Urbain) Salomé, for the production of earthenware vessels, lead-glazed, for local consumption.[2] Pottery-making in Canada, therefore, can be dated from at least this time.

It was the traditional peasant pottery of France: local clay thrown on the potter's wheel, dusted with powdered lead and fired in a small, primitive, wood-burning kiln. The products of the individual potters differed little one from the other and there was neither need nor incentive for broadening the range of wares offered: the local market demanded only basic earthenware vessels. More sophisticated wares were imported, not manufactured locally.

Local crafts and industries had more scope for development as the eighteenth century began. The territory had become relatively peaceful, the population increased rapidly, and many new communities were established. As these communities grew, local craftsmen were needed: shoemakers, harness makers, blacksmiths and potters. There were potteries at the *fermes St-Joachim* (Côte-de-Beaupré) in 1700 and at Cap-Santé in 1710. Guillaume Duval of Paris established a pottery at Pointe-aux-Trembles near Montreal in 1753. By the close of the French régime there were probably 13 or 14 potteries in operation in the colony including the Acadian potters in the Trois-Rivières-Lac St-Pierre area. (Trois-Rivières had local pottery-making from an early date.) Four or five potteries were situated near Quebec itself and three or four in Montreal. Many quite small communities supported local potters because good surface clay was readily available: St-Antoine-sur-Richelieu, Rivière Ouelle, St-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Ste-Marie-de-Beauce, and possibly Nicolet and Contrecoeur. But in the slow rise and then the decline of the pottery industry in Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu is mirrored the cycle of a community over the span of a century.

The initial settlers came to Saint-Denis in the 1730s. Farmers were prospering in the lands of the Richelieu valley and Saint-Denis soon became the commercial and social centre of this rich grain-producing area. The first potters attracted to Saint-Denis were the brothers Louis and Jean-Marie Courtemanche from neighbouring St-Antoine, and Paul Belanger from Quebec.[3] They set up shop in 1768 but it was not until the arrival of the Acadian master-potter Simon Thibodeau from Trois-Rivières in 1776 that the pottery industry really took hold in the village. Thibodeau was a shrewd businessman who could see the potential of Saint-Denis. What could be better? Here was a busy community already well situated on an established trading route in the heart of a prosperous rural area, a ready market, and there was plenty of suitable clay and wood to feed the kilns. Thibodeau was ready to invest his capital in such a village. His first purchase in August 1776 was a lot on St. Catherine

Street.[4] The American Revolutionary War hardly disturbed the tempo of his trade even though towards the end of 1780 there were scattered rumours of renewed invasion attempts from the south. Thibodeau prospered, sold his first property to a potter-friend newly arrived in the village, and in 1786 moved to a better location on the river bank just outside Saint-Denis.[5] His new house and his shop were solidly built of square timber, and in 1816 his household boasted imported faience and stone chinaware as well as the earthenware *cruches, terrines,* jugs and pitchers of his own creation.[6] As business progressed Thibodeau had branched out profitably into real estate and loans so that he was able to enjoy a comfortable retirement.

Meanwhile, encouraged no doubt by Thibodeau's success, more potters were opening shop in the village. In 1784 Pierre Besse arrived from St-Roch-des-Aulnaies (below Quebec) and bought property on St. Catherine Street almost next to Thibodeau's.[7] Besse soon shared in the general prosperity and was able to move to a riverside location by 1791. The third master-potter of these early years followed the same pattern. Louis Robichaud, an Acadian friend of Thibodeau's, had arrived in Saint-Denis in 1785 and bought Thibodeau's original shop on St. Catherine Street.[8] The district was booming. Population expansion in the whole St. Lawrence area meant more customers, more markets for crockery, and Robichaud soon had a flourishing business. In 1794 he too moved to the riverside and a few years later secured from the seigneur the rights to a part of the river bed itself so that his clay supply was assured.[9]

It was the era of the individual in pottery. Each potter worked in his own shop in the traditional manner with one or two helpers. There seems to have been no formal agreement between potters or between potter and merchant, but in Saint-Denis at this time the potter was in the happy position of being sure that the merchant would purchase all his wares as they were offered. Since the market was ready to take all they could produce, there was no real competition. By 1800 the early apprentices of the original potters were safely launched in their own concerns. Potter-families were emerging. The Duplaquet dit Lambert family, for example, had nine members of the family in the pottery trade in Saint-Denis in two generations. Antoine Daniel had been hired in 1796 by Jean-Baptiste Lambert to teach the trade of pottery-making to his son Antoine Duplaquet dit Lambert. The father bought the property and provided all materials as well as lodging for Daniel while Antoine served the required apprenticeship. The profits of the pottery were divided half and half.[10] Like other successful potters Antoine Duplaquet dit Lambert continued to farm on the side and supplemented his income in this way: a wise move, as later events were to prove.

An 1810 inventory[11] of the estate of potter Jean-Baptiste Maillet, first of a line of at least 11 potters in his family in three generations, gives some idea of the living conditions of the time. Maillet, his wife, and eight children were crowded into a house that consisted only of one room and a kitchen downstairs, and an attic above. Maillet's house, a shed, and his potter's shop were all squeezed onto a piece of land on the main street covering only 26 by 60 feet! Maillet owned two other nearby lots: one with a stable, the other with a house. Like so many of the potters of Saint-Denis, Maillet's holdings also included a farm lot which could serve as a source of clay for his pots and firewood for his kiln. Maillet's pottery

shop centred on the vital *fourneau* and contained his potter's wheel (of the treadle type), a mill to grind the clay, a crusher, a ladle, two augers, one lot of wheel spokes, an old robe and a sheepskin, a scraper and a hammer and his stock of 40 dozen unglazed pots.

Each master-potter in Saint-Denis had trained apprentices so there were enough men available for the growing pottery industry to keep up with the increasing demands of the expanding Richelieu valley area. Apprenticeship usually lasted five or six years although one of Simon Thibodeau's employees had been apprenticed by his widowed mother at the age of eight and remained in training until he was 20.[12] By the time this young man, Nicolas Prevost, was in trade as a potter the area's economy was in full bloom. The farming lands of the Richelieu valley were at peak production in the first three decades of the nineteenth century and Saint-Denis itself hummed with commercial activity. Steamers made regular round-trips between Saint-Denis and Montreal. Ships shuttled in and out of the port, bringing in merchandise and carrying out grain. There were tanneries, carriage works, a distillery, and firms manufacturing linseed oil, wooden clocks, spinning wheels and even hats.[13] The potteries were as busy as the granaries, and the skyline could boast nearly a score of smoking pottery chimneys as well as nine windmills.[14] By 1836 crockery imports (mostly from Britain) seem to have been reduced to 60 per cent of the total requirements of the province and the potters of Saint-Denis were producing about half of all the earthenware originating in Lower Canada.[15] Production had reached its peak. The year 1836 was to prove both the apogee and the beginning of the slump for Saint-Denis.

The effects of the opening of the railway between St. Johns and La Prairie were not felt immediately but the harvest of 1836 was an almost total failure in Lower Canada, and the following year the region was in the grip of a severe economic depression. Political discontent grew as the communities of the Richelieu valley felt the pinch. Some potters, involved in the fortunes of their communities, became involved in the new political movements. Jean-Baptiste Maillet (son of the Maillet whose household was described above), for example, joined the *Patriotes* and was later forced to seek asylum in the United States from the consequences of his association with the extremists of the movement.[16] Saint-Denis repulsed one attack by several companies of British troops on November 23, 1837 but fell before a second stronger attack one week later. The discovery in the Richelieu of the mutilated body of Lieutenant Weir enraged the troops, and after pillaging the village, they set fire to it. Damage was severe and Saint-Denis never completely recovered. François Duplaquet dit Lambert was one master-potter who felt unable to continue. He rented his pottery to his sons Antoine and François in the spring of 1839[17] while he himself returned to the farming his family had carried on as a sideline for several generations. His sons were never to win back the profitable trade he had known, for the rising of 1837 served as a catalyst in the process of decline which was inevitable once Saint-Denis had lost its position of importance as a trading centre. The opening of the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad between St. Johns and La Prairie in 1836 had been one of the signals of change. Saint-Denis was bypassed completely when in 1853 the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad completed a new route between Montreal and Portland *via* St-Hyacinthe,

crossing the Richelieu at St-Hilaire.

Saint-Denis was no longer the hub of the area. The community's energy began to wane. The potters left were not strong enough to combat the challenge of the increasingly popular wares of the tinsmiths and they were overshadowed in their own craft by the growing activity in St. Johns where American stoneware was being produced from 1840. A few attempts were made to improve techniques and expand the range of products. In 1844 Joseph Duplaquet dit Lambert's inventory showed attempts at double-firing and liquid-glazing.[18] But it was too late to win back that portion of the market that Canadian-made products could secure in a field dominated by imports.

As the potteries closed, the potters looked for jobs elsewhere. In 1811 Joseph Maillet had moved to Ste-Marie to operate a pottery there for Seigneur Thomas P.J. Taschereau. Now the Maillet family scattered completely—Amable and his brother Narcisse went to St. Johns sometime after 1843 and joined the Farrars. Édouard went to St-Ours about 1845 and Jean-Baptiste left for St-Eustache about 1851 with his son. Siméon Joubert, who had moved to St-Ours in 1830 made a short-lived attempt to return to Saint-Denis in 1839 but left again for Machiche in 1840.[19] The potters whose families had worked in Saint-Denis for generations began to disappear from local records. By 1871 the only four potters left in Saint-Denis bore the names of those two men who had introduced pottery-making to the village a century before: Courtemanche and Belanger. Before the nineteenth century closed, no potters were left in Saint-Denis, once the pottery capital of Lower Canada.

The Farrars of St. Johns (St-Jean) and Iberville

The potters of Saint-Denis were individual, unsophisticated rural craftsmen producing work designed expressly for the rural community around them. There had been no real market for more expensive decorated majolica and they seem to have produced none. For those who wanted and could afford it there was Staffordshire porcelain flooding Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century. Stoneware was also coming in from Britain as the manufacturers realized the particular needs of the colonial market. But New England potters had also seen the value of stoneware and managed to establish a North American industry. Stoneware was harder than earthenware and cheaper than porcelain, and—most important—relatively easy to produce given suitable conditions. The most important factor in establishing a stoneware industry in Canada to compete with imported goods would be geographical location. Easy access to transportation and consequent lowering of cost were vital for bringing in raw materials not readily available and for shipping out the finished products to a wide market.

St. Johns, in 1838 much smaller in size than neighbouring Saint-Denis, had not been affected as seriously either by the turbulent uprisings or the harsh repressive measures that followed. The only railroad in Canada was the line running from Montreal to St. Johns. Here the railway connected with the Canadian terminus of the Lake Champlain steamship services. The Chambly canal was under construction and would open up navigation to the St. Lawrence. Industry established here then could not only ship in raw materials at relatively low cost but also reach out to an expanded market. St. Johns was the customs port on the Richelieu and a rapidly growing, prosperous, bustling town in 1840.[20] It was

natural enough that a family of stoneware manufacturers established in Vermont, looking for new worlds to conquer, should realize the possibilities of the town, strategically situated in Lower Canada where no stoneware was as yet being made.

The first stoneware manufacture in Quebec and probably the first in Canada [21] was established at St. Johns in 1840 by two men who had already learned the techniques of their trade among the skilled potters of Vermont: Moses Farrar (a Canadian by birth) [22] and his father-in-law Isaac Newton Soule. They bought land in St. Johns only 500 feet from the terminus of the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad and less than 500 yards from the steamship wharf [23] so that New Jersey fireclay could be easily shipped in as needed. The factory was soon in production and a few years later Moses Farrar's nephew [24] from Vermont arrived to join the staff already enlarged by the addition of two former Saint-Denis potters. [25] Farrar and Soule stoneware products were generally made of stoneware clay burned to a blue-grey colour, salt-glazed or with an opaque slip-glaze (that is, a natural clay containing sufficient flux to function as a glaze) which gave them a dark brown, generally dull finish. Sometimes the slip-glaze was employed only on the inside of the vessels. The pottery weathered the depression of 1846-47 and Isaac Soule turned over his share of the factory to his son, Warren Hoxie Soule [26] as business began to improve. The firm celebrated its decennial in 1850 by winning first prize for stoneware at the Provincial Industrial Exhibition in Montreal.

The partnership of Farrar and Soule ended in 1852. [27] Warren Soule continued to run the existing plant for two years more with the help of capital from Henry Gillespie, master-carpenter and joiner of St. Johns. [28] In 1854 however, Gillespie and Soule were bought out by another Farrar newly arrived in St. Johns from Vermont (where he still maintained his residence)—Eben L. Farrar. The Gillespie name continued to be associated with pottery-making in St. Johns for a few more years since Henry's son John Gillespie (who had perhaps learned his trade with Warren Soule) established his own small pottery in the spring of 1857 with the aid of his brother-in-law Thomas Mace. [29] He gave up in 1860 [30] but some stoneware vessels found today in the province marked J.T. HAZEN/ST. JOHNS seem to have originated in Gillespie's pottery. Hazen, a merchant, was responsible for the pottery property taxes from 1865 to 1872 [31] and may have had stoneware made there for his own use and marked with his own name. Apart from this interlude Gillespie's pottery seems to disappear almost completely from the record. [32]

Moses Farrar, in the meantime, had set up within three weeks of the termination of the Farrar and Soule partnership in 1852 an independent pottery close to his brick house on the corner of Partition and Grant (today Laurier) Streets. Here from 1852 to 1854 he turned out products with the mark MOSES FARRAR/ST. JOHNS L.C. He had taken with him from his original plant Narcisse Maillet [33] and the two seemed to be thriving. But Moses Farrar was losing interest in the industry he had come to Canada to establish.

The Crimean War broke out in 1854 and postponed the threatened recession. The Farrar clan in Vermont could see the still growing importance of St. Johns, now linked by railway with Boston and New York and by steamer with other points in the United States. The situation was encouraging for

business interests and as reciprocity was introduced and capital moved into Canada so did Eben L. Farrar, a senior member of the family. In March 1854 (as mentioned above) Eben bought out Gillespie and Soule intact, with a guarantee that Soule would not try to compete either in Canada or within forty miles of Fairfax, Vermont.[14] Stoneware with the mark E.L. FARRAR/ST. JOHNS, C.E. seems to belong to this first step in Eben Farrar's establishment in Canada. Eben Farrar did not enjoy competition, it seems, even from relatives, and he eliminated any threat from the other pottery in town by merging with Moses Farrar in what turned out to be a short-lived partnership. The company of E.L. and M. Farrar seems to have survived only a few months: from the latter part of 1854 until the spring of 1855. It was too uneven a partnership, perhaps. Moses seems to have felt that he was still young enough to try a new career and he needed little persuasion to give up the pottery when a man of much the same age, Eben L.'s brother George Whitfield Farrar, arrived in St. Johns from Fairfax. Like Soule, Moses Farrar agreed not to set up a new manufacture nor to trade as a potter within the marketing area he had himself begun to develop 15 years before. He had, in fact, no desire to compete and in August 1855 after selling his share of the pottery, including "all the clay now being on the wharf at this port of St.

Plate 1

Left: Burned to a blue-grey, salt-glazed and with a design in cobalt blue, this two-gallon stoneware jug is marked "Gillespie and Soule St. Johns." Date: 1852-54.
Dimensions: height 14 in., diameter of base $8\frac{3}{8}$ in.

Right: Large crock of slate-grey, salt-glazed, and with a flower and leaf design in cobalt blue; stamped "E.L. Farrar St. Johns 3." Date: 1854.
Dimensions: height $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.; diameter of top $10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Johns,"[14] to G.W. Farrar,[15] he returned to Vermont.

The brothers Eben L. and George W. Farrar felt this was the moment to cull profit from the now vigorous Canadian market. The first thing to do was to step up production and for this a new plant was built, fronting on Partition Street and encompassing stables for the horses that distributed their wares by wagon, as well as sheds for storing clay. It seems to have been an impressively large establishment for the time, much of it replacing premises damaged by fire. The next step was to enlarge the range of wares offered. Their close connections with the new techniques being developed by the Vermont potteries was of great value and with better equipment they could introduce double-firing techniques, new glazing processes and moulds like those in use in New England. They branched out into such new stoneware items as ginger beer bottles and snuff jars. They could even offer their customers enamelled wares.[16] All seemed to be going well, and plans for further development were gathering form. The abrupt death of Eben Farrar on June 26, 1857 brought the flourishing partnership to an end.[17]

Stoneware vessels bearing the mark O.L. BALLARD/ST.JOHNS reveal the hiatus in the Farrar careers caused by the sudden death of Eben. Despite his skilful organization of his business affairs, he had made no will and by the laws of Vermont his estate had to be divided among his three brothers and his widow. Orrin L. Ballard, himself a prominent Burlington pottery manufacturer, arrived in St. Johns to help unravel the legal tangle and on November 16, 1857 assumed control of the firm.[18] Two months later, with everything sorted out, he was able to convey sole ownership to the surviving partner.[19]

George W. Farrar operated the pottery alone for eight years but after his brother's death, he marked the stoneware simply ST. JOHNS/STONE WARE. The factory was turning out thoroughly practical articles—in 1861 the 18 employees of the firm used up 500 tons of clay producing 36,000 jugs, 30,000 butter pots, 300 dozen teapots, 600 pitchers and 600 spittoons.[20] They were producing, in fact, what the market demanded of home industry and business ran smoothly. So much so that in March 1866 Farrar transferred control of the pottery to his eldest son George Henry,[21] then 23 and representing the firm in Montreal, in order to allow himself an opportunity to follow his new interest in white earthenware then developing rapidly within the United States industry.

Two years later, in 1868, the second son Lucius E. Farrar reached his majority and the two young men made a formal partnership "for the manufacture of earthen and stone ware."[22] Six potter's wheels were already busy and the young men were anxious to modernize the plant by introducing steam power. Their ideas seemed justified within three years since the municipal evaluation of the pottery jumped from $1,500 to $7,000.[23] After 1871 the pottery was proudly known as the St. Johns Steam Power Stone Ware Factory! The brothers divided the supervision of the concern: George managed the factory while Lucius represented the firm in Montreal and the youngest brother Eben, then 18, learned his trade as a potter. Rockingham ware, the brownware long popular among Vermont potters, was added to the repertoire.

But the dynamism of the young men was useless in the face of the new depression settling on the country by the end of 1873. Debtors went

bankrupt with consequent loss to the firm.[44] Loans had to be negotiated at cripplingly high interest rates.[45] By 1874 the firm had to slash its prices by as much as half in order to sell at all.[46] The firm of G.H. and L.E. Farrar was floundering and in December 1875 as the depression intensified, the partnership was dissolved. George Henry Farrar withdrew and went into partnership with Louis Deneau—a Montreal trader for some time associated with the firm—marketing the Farrar products on an exclusive franchise in the firm of "Farrar and Deneau."[47] The father, George W. Farrar, now resumed control of the family firm.[48] The year 1876 was disastrous. Business concerns collapsed everywhere in the province. Banks folded. In the midst of this misery a fire in June ravaged the entire business district of St. Johns. The Farrars escaped this but shortly afterwards a fire on the premises destroyed the St. Johns factory where stoneware had been produced for a quarter of a century. George W. Farrar and his eldest son abandoned the scene of defeat and moved to the opposite bank of the Richelieu, to Iberville. Lucius E. Farrar sold up and moved to the United States.[49]

George Whitfield Farrar was not ready to give up. Iberville offered the same easy access to transportation by rail and water as St. Johns and the town was ready to encourage new industry by granting tax privileges to manufacturers preparing to locate there.[50] Farrar bought a house and land in Iberville in September 1876,[51] and immediately set about establishing on his depleted resources a new and modest pottery in an annex at the back of his newly acquired house. He requested Council to grant exemption from taxes for 10 years, brought in fireclay by barge from New Jersey as before, and restricted production to stoneware. The Farrars' Iberville pottery was to survive for another half a century but G.W. Farrar did not live long enough to see his new pottery securely established. He died in 1881[52] and his youngest son, Eben L. who had stayed in St. Johns for a while, rejoined George Henry Farrar to help keep the Iberville pottery operating. The 1883-86 recession and the competition from the Bertrand and Lavoie company in Iberville between 1885 and 1895 made the early years a constant struggle. It was 1890 before G.H. and E.L. Farrar dared make the first tentative move towards expansion. They bought a small piece of adjoining property on Napier Street so that they could extend the brick residence. At this time a new type of stoneware preserve jar was being developed and was selling well. Its top was a glass seal attached to the jar by a wire clamp. These glass tops were made especially for the firm, marked, "Farrars Patent SelfSealing Jar—1893," and the same device was used on an assortment of stoneware jars from the common salt-glazed variety to the more elaborate models decorated with incised banding.

The success of these years was accentuated by the collapse of the Farrars' only rival of the early years in Iberville, Bertrand and Lavoie. Calixte Goyette, carpenter and master-builder of Iberville, had made an abortive attempt in January 1885 to move into the stoneware industry by putting up the capital for a new manufacture in partnership with Hubert Lavoie, journeyman, and Julien Bertrand, potter.[53] The partnership got as far as buying land for the enterprise but Bertrand had to cede his share to a creditor and in August Calixte Goyette withdrew from the agreement and looked for a more stable investment. Bertrand and Lavoie decided to persevere. Their first announcement of

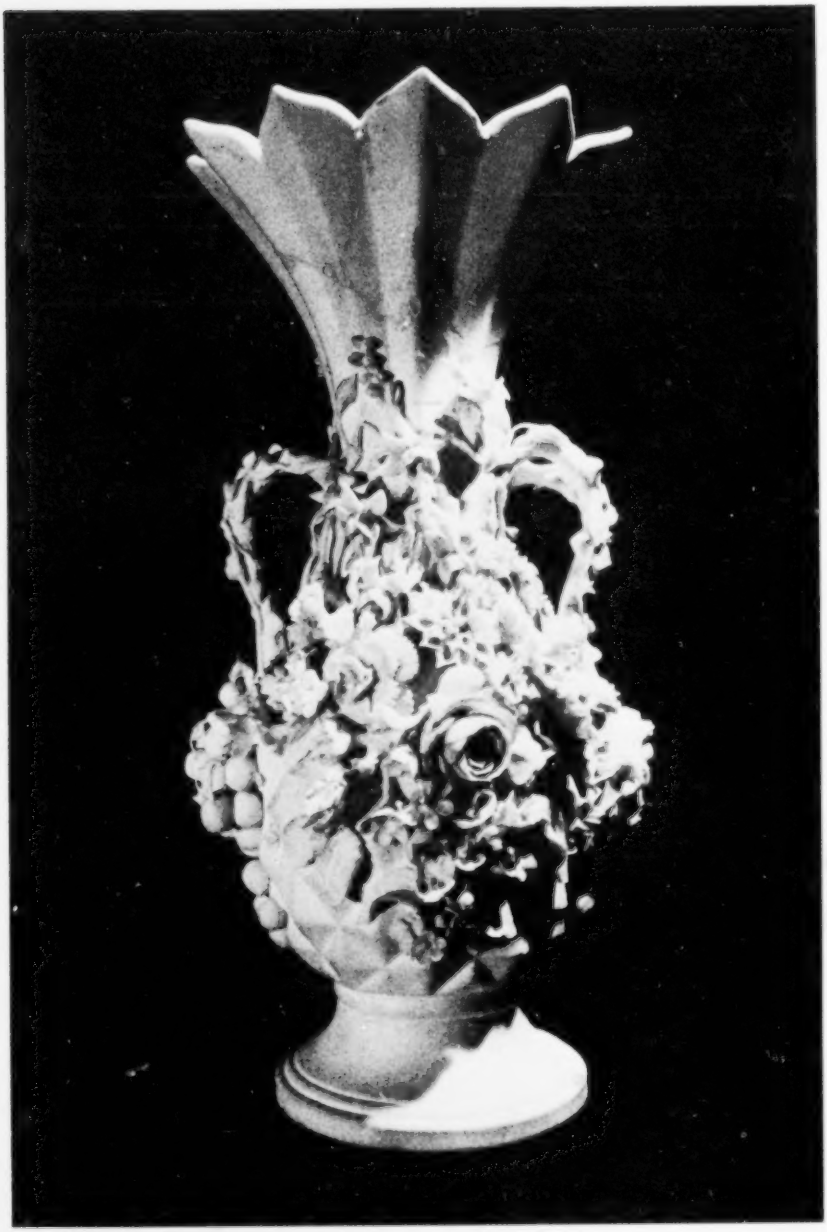

Plate 2

Parian porcelain vase, richly decorated, made by Philip Pointon, possibly while working in New Jersey before coming to the Farrar potteries in St. Johns. Unusual type of ware, rarely found.

Date (inscribed on bottom): "November 19, 1871 from P. Pointon to his wife Alzina C. Pointon."
Dimensions: height 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., diameter 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

intent to produce a wide range of crockery never materialized,[54] and actual operations were put off for two years. A new announcement was made in November 1887 and the partnership managed to hang on for five years. The pottery restricted itself to stoneware and most of its products were marked MFG. BY/BERTRAND & LAVOIE/ IBERVILLE, P.Q. In November 1892 Bertrand was forced to sell his share in the firm to Charles Adolphe Loupret (agent for the enterprise), and continue as an employee although the name of Bertrand and Lavoie was continued.[55] In September 1894 Loupret bought out Hubert Lavoie[56] but he had little time to enjoy his ownership. A few months later Loupret went into bankruptcy. The mortgagee took over the property[57] in February 1896 and the pottery remained dormant until the Farrars bought it in 1900.

By this time the Farrars seemed to have adapted well to the changing needs of the market and the challenge of the

Plate 3

Mixing bowl from Iberville potteries; has a Rockingham glaze obtained by brushing mottled, brown glaze over the red earthenware and then covering with a clear lead oxide glaze.

Date: ca. 1885.
Dimensions: height 3 ½ in., diameter of top 6 ½ in.

growing glassware industry. George Henry Farrar, who looked after the administration of the firm, was prominent in municipal affairs[58] and about 1901 was appointed Harbour Master in Iberville.

After 1910 the popularity of stoneware began to wane. In 1912 the Farrars sold the former Bertrand and Lavoie pottery and it was dismantled.[59] Eben L. Farrar died in August 1918 at the age of 66.[60] He was the last member of the Farrar family to turn a potter's wheel in Canada. The plant had long been referred to as the "E.L. Farrar Pottery Works" and after his death the name was changed to "Canada Stoneware Works." George Henry Farrar continued to operate the factory until 1926 when, six weeks before his death at the age of 84, he sold it.[61] The new owners—George H. Sheppard, William Knight (of the Dominion Sanitary Pottery company) and William Campbell—were able to continue production without interruption since Farrar had included in the

Plate 4

This common yellowware bowl is a superb example of a clear glaze over a cream-coloured body; made in the Iberville potteries.

Date: ca. 1885.
Dimensions: height 5 ½ in., diameter of top 12 ¼ in.

sale not only all the equipment and patents but also all the technical data on production methods, the formulae for the stoneware clays and glazes, and exact details on the correct firing of the kilns. The Farrars had been producing stoneware for nearly 90 years but the stoneware industry died with them in the St. Johns-Iberville area. The new form lasted until a fire in June 1930 severely damaged the premises and shortly afterwards the partnership broke up.[62] Five years later George Sheppard sold all the equipment of the Canada Stoneware Works to the Edison Institute for re-assembly at Henry Ford's historical village in Dearborn, Michigan.[63]

Plate 5

Stoneware storage crock, covered with a clear salt glaze, and decorated with a blue floral design; glazed opaque brown interior. Stamped "Mfg. by Bertrand & Lavoie Iberville P.Q. 4."

Date: ca. 1885-95.
Dimensions: height 11½ in., diameter of top 11¼ in.

The Farrars had been pioneers. Moses Farrar had introduced stoneware to St. Johns in 1840. George Whitfield Farrar had given up control of the firm in 1866 so that he could be free to focus on a new project: the production of white earthenware. No one had yet started to produce this in Canada although potters in Trenton, New Jersey had spent a decade establishing a market and making "white granite" ware the specialty of the U.S. industry. This "white granite" body was somewhat harder than the hardest English white earthenware but not so hard as the vitreous "ironstone" ware patented by Mason's in Staffordshire in 1813. The American product had become a commercial success by 1873 primarily by concentrating on heavy hotel and restaurant ware. Farrar was interested in exploiting the Canadian market.

He interested Edward C. Macdonald, a prominent St. Johns merchant and banker in the project. Together, despite the unpromising economic climate, they raised subscribers in St. Johns and Iberville and organized a joint stock company, the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company, in 1873.[64] Another potter, William Livesley, was recruited (probably from Trenton) to be the chief technician of the firm. Land was purchased at the corner of Grant and Partition Streets, a St. Johns contractor was signed on[65] and work began on construction of the plant. It took more than a year for the factory to be readied for the launching of home-made "granite" ware on the Canadian market but by August 28, 1874 the first shipment of the company's goods was sent off. As other enterprises crashed around them, the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company cleared more than $3,000 in its first seven months[66] and hoped to double production as it swung into its second year. In the first year of operation an average of 100 crates a month were turned out, carrying a wide range of goods from stove-lining fire bricks and stoneware to Rockingham, cream-

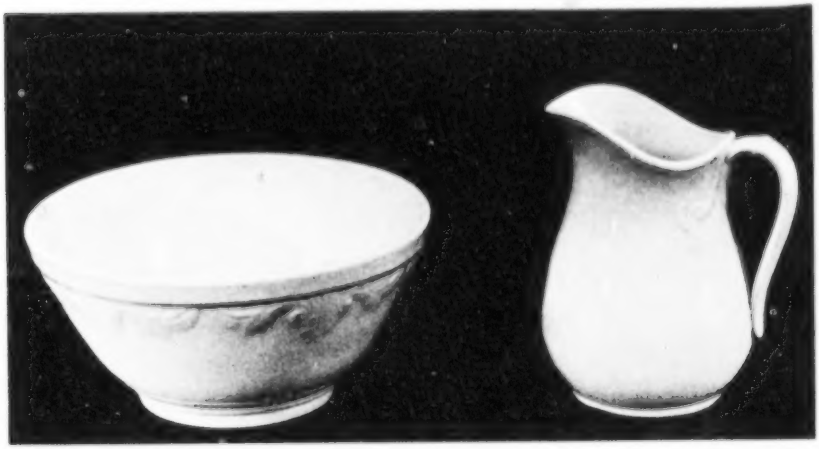

Plate 6

White ironstone bowl and pitcher, having a fine bright glaze and a moulded decoration. Both are stamped "Stone Chinaware Company, St. Johns, P.Q." and also with the British coat-of-arms.

Date: ca. 1880.
Bowl: height 4¼ in., diameter of top 10 in.
Pitcher: height 8 in., diameter of top 6¼ in.

coloured and "granite" wares. More investors[67] were attracted by the obvious success of the new company and their confidence seemed justified when the judges at the 1876 Philadelphia International (Centennial) Exhibition awarded the firm a medal for its "white granite" ware with the citation "commended for fair quality of body and glaze, good quality of colour in blue decoration." Standards, even in these early years, seem to have been high and work produced could bear comparison with that of the much more experienced American potters.

But much of the company's initial *élan* had come from Farrar and at the end of 1875 he had felt it urgent that he resume the guidance of his family's stoneware factory. His initiative and energy were thus taken away from the St. Johns firm and this loss was intensified by the departure of the other potter, William Livesley, who moved to Montreal before the end of 1876 to organize a new ceramic manufacture, the West End Dresden Pottery (*see* p.16). Abandoned by both potters and with the depression forcing prices down, the company abruptly lost its momentum and in the autumn of 1877 went into bankruptcy.[68]

E.C. Macdonald, by then 67 years old, refused to be disheartened. He was keenly aware of the possibilities of this type of industry and after buying out the company,[69] he ran it from March 1878 as a private enterprise, known locally as "Macdonald's pottery." His business acumen was unerring. The revised protective tariffs of 1879 gave home products an edge over American imports and business began to improve. Macdonald was quick to grasp the new chance to develop and planned far-reaching improvements in the plant to accelerate production. He constructed a large warehouse linked to the main pottery by a bridge well above street level and added several additional kilns including a large two-decker type.[70] The company's white granite and cream-coloured wares earned a gold medal at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto in September 1879, and a year later, at the Dominion Exhibition in Montreal, it secured first prize for stone china and second prize for pottery. Six kiln chimneys now clustered around the main chimney. Macdonald's nephew Alexander (Sandy) Macdonald who had been helping with the supervision of the factory was rewarded by his uncle in November 1884 by a one-third interest in the concern.[71]

The depression of 1883-86 hardly touched the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company though many other enterprises in the town crumbled under the pressure. One such casualty was William Sherratt's factory, in 1883 the third largest pottery in St. Johns. William Sherratt was from a family of Staffordshire potters and had arrived in St. Johns a few years before and worked for a while with Elijah Bowler at the St. Johns Porcelain Works (*see* p. 24). In November 1882, encouraged no doubt by the sight of vigorous business activity in the town, he decided there was room for at least one more firm and—with George Horatio Bacon, a mining engineer from Montreal—bought a pottery built by J. and H. Black on the corner of Queen and Glass Factory Streets (now Bouthillier Street and Gouin Boulevard).[72] There are few records of its brief life but the factory did turn out both Rockingham ware and white earthenware. It could not really hope to entrench itself within the shrinking economy. At the beginning of January 1884 Sherratt took over Bacon's interest in the enterprise. The partnership had lasted 14 months. Six months later an Ottawa boot and shoe

manufacturer, William Edward Brown, acquired the balance of Bacon's mortgage on the property and in 1886 bought out Sherratt who left for the United States.[73] A fire that winter left the pottery in ruins and four years later it was sold by the sheriff.[74]

In the years from 1879 to 1883 five such new potteries were established in the St. Johns-Iberville area. Three of them (William Sherratt, William Jones, Blackburn & Rowe) rapidly collapsed. All of the others in the area with the exception of the St. Johns Stone China-ware Company were adversely affected. Macdonald's enterprise, conversely, seemed at its most successful. The number of employees increased (a boon to the local labour force), production expanded, and plant and equipment were again redeployed. The company was reaching out well beyond the borders of Canada, exhibiting a collection of plain and decorated tableware and toilet ware, and domestic white granite ware at the Antwerp International Exhibition of 1885 and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886. A description of the plant in 1888 states that there were then three glost kilns (for glazing), three bisque kilns (for preliminary firing), one calcining kiln and one frett kiln (for special frit glazes) and one enamelling kiln. Steady employment was given to 200 persons using machinery driven by a steam engine of 100 horsepower.[75]

E.C. Macdonald died in January 1889 and his control of the firm passed to his brother Duncan Macdonald, father of Alexander.[76] The Macdonalds must have been closely interested in the formation of the Dominion Sanitary Pottery Company in St. Johns at this time and could certainly discern the importance of Elijah Bowler's new line of sanitary earthenware. They wasted no time. With a fresh injection of capital, expansion into new property and the addition of at least one large kiln, they were rapidly in the vanguard with the new line of goods. A substantial amount of sanitary earthenware was produced in the following years, much of it on contract to railway and shipping companies.

The taste of the time called for an elaboration of design: water closets appeared in at least ten different patterns (such as "Richelieu," "Daisy" and "Excelsior"). Some flaunted elaborately embossed patterns, hand-decorated in gilt and gold and green. Tanks for toilets were just as elegant: they were placed high on the wall and fashioned in mahogany, black walnut, sycamore and bird's eye maple.[77] Round, oval and rectangular wash basins were available, not only in a range of sizes but also in a range of colours. "Maroon band and gold lines" was a particular favourite. Some were marbled. Many were hand-decorated. Tableware and toilet ware were produced mainly in a white granite although some were produced in the cream-coloured body used mostly for general utility items. The principal toilet ware pattern bore the name "Ribbon." Tableware items came in a wider variety and in such patterns as "Ceres," "Melon" and "Cable." The well-known "Wheat" pattern seems to have been obsolete by 1893 [78] whereas the "blue-ware" was at this time enjoying great popularity. Sandy Macdonald used his office to show off the popular lines of bijou jugs, plain and in assorted colours or with gold head and lip, together with a group of shaving mugs and fan mugs in assorted colours.

Misfortune when it came after so many smiling years struck suddenly. On Saturday night March 4, 1896 the worst fire in St. Johns since the 1876 disaster gutted all four buildings of the main manufacturing plant of the St. Johns

Stone Chinaware Company. Damage was estimated at $100,000 and only half this loss was covered by insurance. As many as 225 employees were abruptly out of work.[79] The Macdonalds could not afford to stop production. Four days after the fire they set up what became known as "Macdonald's small pottery" in the idle Canada Pottery plant on St. George Street which they had acquired the previous year.[80]

The Canada Pottery had been active for about eight years in the shadow of the nine busy kiln chimneys of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company but it had ceased to exist by 1890.[81] When William Livesley left the St. Johns Stone Chinaware firm in 1876 he had gone to Montreal with the idea of leasing part of the former St. Lawrence Glass company plant in the suburb of Ste-Cunégonde[82] and establishing there a new pottery manufacture. He enlisted the valuable support of two of the original sponsors of the glassworks, William Workman and Alexander Delisle, and another useful man, Mark Tomkins, an importer of clay and other raw materials. By the end of 1876 Livesley not only had his lease from Workman for part of the plant but also the use of much of the equipment[83] and a year's freedom from rent. A company was set up in April 1877 under the name of West End Dresden Pottery[84] and operated for about two years until the death of Workman. Livesley stayed on long enough to see the firm change hands and become the

Plate 7

Coffee pot, cup and saucer from a set of 36 pieces of blueware acquired by the National Museum of Man. One of the more extensive and unusual lines of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company.

Date: this type of ware was not made after the fire of 1896.
Dimensions: *coffee pot* – height 9 in., diameter 8 ¼ in.
cup – height 3 in.
saucer – diameter 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

Stafford Pottery under the ownership of Mark Tomkins and Company. He left the enterprise in 1879 to return to St. Johns but Tomkins continued until the slump of 1883 killed his concern like so many others.[55] Livesley fared little better in St. Johns. The protective tariffs of 1879 had helped business recover briefly from the last stifling depression and Livesley came back to St. Johns with new ideas on the feasibility of establishing a drain-pipe industry there. His attention was soon diverted, however, to the more attractive project of competing with his old firm in the production of white earthenware. He negotiated with a low down payment the purchase of the new factory built by the Blacks on the ruined Farrar site on St. George Street. With J. Platt Rogers as partner, Livesley began operations in January 1881[56] and soon ceramic products appeared bearing the trademark, W.L. & CO. CANADA POTTERY, in an oval frame. But the venture seems to have been launched a trifle hastily without the capital necessary to make it viable. Debts piled up as the new firm struggled to accumulate the supplies needed for its white earthenware. The stockpile proved too costly. All the essential ingredients—ball clay, china clay, flint and feldspar—had to be imported from the United States or from England. A store of such glazing materials as white lead and zinc had to be purchased, and firebrick for the new kilns, lumber, iron roofing, stoves and new machinery. Unpaid bills piled up. Wm. Livesley and Company was finished. On October 21, 1882 the company was dissolved and taken over by C.E. Pearson and Company.[57] Charles Pearson, then owner of a Rockingham ware factory, the Glasgow Poterie d'Iberville, seems to have kept Livesley on as superintendent of the plant. The upswing in the business cycle was proving merely an interlude. The slump renewed its hold in 1883. Pearson sold his Iberville concern and tried bravely to find business associates to help develop the Canada Pottery. It was not easy. People were wary of making new investments in such unpromising conditions and Pearson's first attempts[58] at organizing "The British Porcelain Manufacturing Company" for the production of "stone china, porcelain, white granite, delf or any other species of pottery, delf or earthenware" collapsed. Finally in September 1883 Pearson seemed to have cleared the first hurdle. Alexander Barbour Almour of Montreal agreed to take a one third interest in the manufacture.[59] The partnership was arranged to run for three years. It lasted six months.[60] Pearson tried again to carry on alone despite the obvious impossibility of coping with mounting financial difficulties. His wares of this period (1882-85) appeared with a trademark consisting of a British coat-of-arms enclosed by the words "British Porcelain" above, and below, the words "C.E. Pearson & Co." The close resemblance to English trademarks was neither accidental nor uncommon at the time. Some American manufacturers had made use of the trademarks of well-known English houses[61] feeling that this was the only way to break into the market. But the custom has made identification difficult and these native Canadian pottery products have been mistakenly labelled as English in origin. The subsequent trademark of the Canada Pottery was even more deceptive. After two and a half years of struggling alone, Pearson was joined in 1885 by Frederick Bruce Dakin of Montreal who had decided at 50 years of age to switch interests from printing to pottery. Dakin took over "The British Porcelain Manufacturing

Company," then valued at $32,000 with Pearson as one of the principal shareholders.[92] The trademark used from 1885 to about 1888 was a large-size reproduction of the British coat-of-arms with the words BRITISH PORCELAIN WORKS above, and the words IRONSTONE CHINA underneath. This mark has sometimes been considered that of an English manufacturer and the Canada Pottery has not always received due credit for its part in the development of Canadian ceramics.

The company was producing a full line of tableware items including teapots and some hotel ware, in at least five patterns ("Wheat," "Cable," "Oak," "Ivy," "Ceres"). Toilet sets appeared in such patterns as "Queen Anne," "Spray," and "York." Spittoons ("Parlour" and "Oak Leaf"), plain bowls, sponge bowls, grape bowls, jelly cans and tobacco jars rolled off the production line. But the competition was fierce, especially from those actual English products still offered at equal prices. In April 1887 the creditors were clamouring for action and the firm was sold by the Sheriff to Henry Earle of Montreal, an earlier investor in the company.[93] Earle was an engraver, not a potter, and he brought in for a short time another potter (perhaps to replace Livesley) to help with management. In 1888 "Dakin & Allen" were listed as managers.[94] By 1890 the company had apparently ceased to exist,[95] and five years later the Macdonalds acquired an interest in the property. Naturally enough, when fire destroyed the main plant of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company the value of this particular asset was immediately realized and the site quickly put back into use.

It was to take two years to rebuild the ruined main plant to half its former value.[96] But in the interim, as soon as machinery, essential equipment and such supplies as Decalomania varnish, grey black for marbling, enamels, printing colours and a few lustre colours could be gathered at the former Canada Pottery plant, the Macdonalds were back in production offering the familiar wares in the patterns proved marketable by long experience. One new pattern was introduced for toilet goods –"Monmouth" – perhaps to show that the pottery was still alive and attuned to new trends. The merchandise was still marked ST. JOHNS STONE CHINAWARE COMPANY but heavier quality goods often carried the secondary mark, IMPERIAL. One of the patterns acquired with the former Canada Pottery plant was added to the Macdonalds' repertoire in this period (1895-96)–"Queen Anne." "Maple Leaf," "Rocaille" and "Ivy Leaf" jugs replaced earlier products. Coffee urns were being made in sizes up to eight gallons. By 1896 the company seemed to be manufacturing table, toilet and sanitary ware as strongly as before, supplying hotels and railways with their specialties.[97] All *seemed* as before. But it was only a surface confidence. The Macdonalds apparently never resumed production in the rebuilt main plant. The heavy loss in the 1893 fire was felt even more keenly the same year when a claim of $20,000 was made against them from the company's bankruptcy in 1877.[98] *La Minerve* of Montreal got wind of new developments and reported on March 31, 1896 that the Macdonalds were negotiating sale of the factory to a group of French ceramists. The newspaper report was accurate. The Macdonalds were offering the whole enterprise at $130,000 to a French group in the hope of attracting French capital to St. Johns. The offer proved tempting. By July the new organization had assumed control[99] and the "small pottery" was being renovated.

Plate 8

This white porcelain pitcher with maple leaf design in relief is the only piece of true hard-paste porcelain made in the early days of the Canadian pottery industry that has been found to date. It is believed to have been made by the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company; no mark but presumably an experimental piece made by Philip Pointon.
Date: ca. 1880
Dimensions: height 7 ¼ in., diameter of base 6 in.

It seemed a sound enough venture on paper. The Canada Stone Chinaware Company was officially born [100] at the beginning of 1897 with an impressive list of directors. The group from France included Leon Graves, manufacturer of Clairfontaine; Adrien Vannier, a chinaware factory manager, of Gien; and Charles Douin, manager of the enamel works at Beauvrages. The Vicomte C. de Bouthillier Chavigny of Richelieu, District of St-Hyacinthe, added the prestige of his name. The resident manager was to be Raoul Aube, formerly of Paris but Alexander Macdonald was assured a place as one of three members forming the committee of management. Annual meetings were to be held in Paris.

It was a clever idea but it failed to save the firm, in fact it proved merely an appendix to the chronicle of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company. The Franco-Canadian group was bankrupt within two years. All production stopped before the company's actual liquidation on April 6 1899.[101] Alexander Macdonald sold what was left to him of the "small pottery" to Elmer Crawford of New York in 1902,[102] and after Macdonald's death in 1905 the rest of the property was sold by the Sheriff. Part, including the warehouses with the bridge across St. George Street, was acquired in 1906 by the Canadian Trenton Potteries Company Limited.[103] The "large pottery" passed through the hands of the Montreal Loan and Mortgage Company and served from 1911 as part of the Collège de Saint-Jean.[104] It was razed by fire in the 1930s and the site is now a playground.

Undeterred at first by the growing St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company, two potters—Henry Arthur Hammond and Thomas James Mostyn—bought land in St. Johns in 1876 and established a small pottery for Rockingham ware.[105] The citizens of Iberville looked rather jealously across the river at the active industry in St. Johns. The Farrars had just transferred their stoneware manufacture to Iberville. Why not add a pottery? A fund of $200 to buy land was raised by subscription among 26 merchants of the community. Hammond and Mostyn were offered this land in return for moving their enterprise across the Richelieu to Iberville.[106] It was a condition of the grant that the products of the new factory not compete directly with those of the Farrars: five of the prominent citizens of Iberville pledged solid financial backing for the manufacture specifically of "pottery, pottery faience and plates of superior substance."[107] Thus for the first 15 years of its life the Iberville pottery restricted its production to Rockingham and yellow (cane) wares, in designs created for the most part by its own craftsmen.

Once in Iberville, Hammond and Mostyn gave up their title to the property and equipment in return for stocks in the new company, and the Glasgow Poterie d'Iberville was officially sanctioned on September 8, 1877.[108] A year later Mostyn died [109] and in the subsequent reorganization of the company, the directors rented the factory to Charles E. Pearson who was to run the concern in an unusually favourable period, the brief trade revival of 1878 to 1882.[110] Pearson felt that more working space was needed for storing clay and fuel and for warehouse and packing facilities and to this end he bought more property at the rear of the pottery in January 1880 so

that he could expand operations,[111] for the pottery's products were receiving favourable attention at annual exhibitions and sales were encouraging.[112] In 1881 Pearson purchased most of the shares of the Glasgow Poterie d'Iberville.[113] Business was still flourishing and although the pottery was now employing between 35 and 40 men, it could not fill all its orders.[114] *La Minerve* reported in Montreal on October 31, 1882 that Pearson was preparing to expand his pottery and to double the number of employees in the coming year.

The newspaper report must have been based on hearsay since on October 21 Pearson had already switched his attention to St. Johns and taken over the fading Canada Pottery. It was undoubtedly a great temptation to him to try to revitalize this firm and he might have succeeded had it not been for the vagaries of the economic situation. As it was, a month after *La Minerve's* optimistic report, the Glasgow Poterie d'Iberville was in the hands of David Emery Palmer, a friend and business associate of Pearson.[115] Palmer operated the pottery from November 25, 1882 until March 13, 1886 but there is little record of his tenure and it is quite possible that the financial difficulties resulting from the depression of 1883-86 seriously hampered production. In March 1886 Calixte Goyette—who had put some capital into the Bertrand and Lavoie venture in 1865, then withdrawn—bought the Iberville pottery for $4,000.[116] It was a good time to buy. The low price was probably due to depressed business conditions but a new upward surge was about to begin. In September 1886 Goyette won first prize for his Rockingham ware at the Dominion and Provincial Exhibition in Sherbrooke,[117] so it would seem that standards had been maintained. When the St. Johns pottery of William Sherratt was eliminated by a fire in the winter of 1886-87, the Iberville pottery had a virtual monopoly of Rockingham and yellow or cane ware production in the area and enjoyed considerable success in the next six years.

By 1891 Goyette felt the moment had come to convert his factory to white earthenware production and move into the sanitary earthenware market then being explored by two new companies just established in the area. The Iberville Municipal Council had been making grants to new manufacturers for a decade in order to stimulate industrial development,[118] and Goyette and his new partner, Edmond Melancon, petitioned Council in December 1891 for assistance. A bonus of $6,000 and a 10-year exemption from municipal taxes was made on condition that Goyette and Melancon use the money to enlarge the existing plant to a total value of at least $10,000 and put the new facilities into operation within eight months.[119] To guarantee further benefits to the community, Goyette and Melancon promised to operate the manufacture for 10 years employing an average of 70 people daily.[120] La Compagnie Centrale de Faience (Central Stone Chinaware Company) was formed officially in January 1892.[121] Land was purchased on St. George Street and by September 1892 the new kilns and buildings seem to have been completed.[122] But the company soon began to disintegrate. By the end of 1893 Council was threatening legal action if the terms of the contract were not fulfilled.[123] By March 1894 the company was finished.[124] The properties of the Central Stone Chinaware Company were sold by the Estate Melancon to Frederick Bruce Dakin—the man who had piloted the

British Porcelain Manufacturing Company in St. Johns through its brief life from 1885 to 1888. Dakin organized the Dominion Porcelain Works with the help of Joseph H. L. Pelletier, an accountant of Iberville, but the association was soon terminated, and Dakin ran the firm alone.[125] Lovell's *Montreal Business Directory* of 1896 records only: "DAKIN, F.B. & CO. manufacturers of vitreous sanitary ware, Rockingham, Cane and White ware." This appears to be the first recorded reference to vitreous sanitary ware in Canada and suggests that F.B. Dakin should be acknowledged as the pioneer in Canada of this development.

But Dakin's initiative had no time to ripen. His operation of the pottery seems to have ceased by the end of 1896,[126] and in 1901 ownership reverted again to the Estate Melançon.[127]

There was an abbreviated epilogue in 1903 when William Jones seems to have leased the pottery briefly. Jones had established what became known as the Queen Street pottery in St. Johns in 1880 in partnership with another potter, Charles Bowers.[128] They produced "brown crockery" at first and after Bowers withdrew from the firm (in March 1881), Jones seems to have used part of an inheritance from his father in England to convert part of the workshop to white earthenware manufacture and to enlarge his range to include chambers, bowls and spittoons as well as plates, cups and saucers and teapots.[129] The 1883 depression ruined this venture. Creditors became insistent and despite help from Dame Hannah Smith who came into partnership with him in March 1883, financial problems mounted and Jones & Company was replaced on New Years Day 1884 by Matheson and Jones. Malcolm Matheson of the Township of Whitney was to control management and sales while Jones confined his attention to production. Title to the site had already passed from Jones to the mortgagee and in September 1884 Matheson took over all the moveable property and agreed to pay all the debts.[130] Jones seems to have stayed at the Queen Street pottery until 1890 when it was acquired by Campbell and Purvis for the production of sanitary earthenware. Jones moved then to Montreal and tried for five years to continue production (mostly of Rockingham ware) in a site on St. Patrick Street rented to the firm of Jones and Robinson by John McDougall, a merchant.[131] The pottery cannot have proved successful since by 1895 the firm was known as the Montreal Pottery Company and landlord John McDougall was listed as proprietor.[132] Rockingham teapots produced by the company had a round trademark on the bottom with the words (in relief): "Montreal Pottery Co./Montreal, P.Q./Warranted Fireproof." The company seems to have been active until about 1905 producing Rockingham and cane ware, some stoneware, and even terracotta flowerpots and *jardinières*. One section of the plant looked after the decoration of ceramic wares such as china, semi-porcelain, sanitary and cream-coloured wares. Despite such activity the company did not last long. In 1903, two years before the building in Montreal was dismantled,[133] Jones came to Iberville. He seems to have been doomed always to start too late. His was to prove the last manufacture of crockery or household earthenware in the St. Johns-Iberville area.

To survive in the twentieth century, the ceramic industry in the Richelieu area was forced to concentrate on the most practical objects: drainpipes and sanitary pottery. Two companies were

successfully producing sanitary pottery in the twentieth century. The Iberville pottery started producing drainpipes under the name of the Canada Pottery Company[134] in 1906-7 when taken over by Albert Clayton and his three brothers who had been manufacturing clay products in Montreal at the Montreal Fire Brick and Terra Cotta Works. It was a logical step for the Claytons to try to establish such an industry in Iberville. In 1887 their father had been superintendent in St. Johns of the Standard Drain Pipe Company—the only area pottery dependent on local clay deposits for most of its raw materials. A brick-making plant had been operated on the St. Johns site by Joseph Bourdeau of St-Georges de Henryville from 1872 until 1873[135] and then Albert Mochon had used the plant to supply brick for the foundations of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company which he was constructing.[136] The factory lay dormant from 1876 until 1879 when W.H. Parsons, a consulting engineer, interested William Livesley in organizing a drainpipe manufacture. They approached Municipal Council in 1879 with a request for a loan to help establish such a factory and won approval subject to certain guarantees.[137] But by this time Livesley had lost interest since his attention had been diverted to the more interesting problem of establishing a white earthenware manufacture. Parsons waited two years and then found a fellow engineer, George B. Capel, who agreed to revive the project with him. The old brick factory site was bought from the Blacks and a supply of American fireclay imported for mixing with the local clay.[138] But Parsons died before their schemes for setting up a two-storey factory for pipes could materialize. In 1884 Wallace C. Trotter of St. Johns bought the property, organized the Standard Drain Pipe Company and started production of drainpipes and refractory products.[139] When the property was transferred to Standard Clay Products Limited in 1912,[140] it had 12 circular down-draft kilns in operation, producing a pipe with a reddish, vitrified body, covered with a uniform dark brown glaze. A few garden urns were also put on the market in the same body and glaze.

Production continued for some 80 years in the St. Johns drain-pipe plant but the Iberville attempt lasted less than four years,[141] from 1906 to 1910. The kilns of the Iberville pottery were never fired again. In 1921 they were dismantled and the brick used for an extension to the new firm started on the site by Calixte Goyette.[142] There was only one tenuous link between this new enterprise and the ceramic industry: it manufactured shipping crates for Canadian Potteries Limited.[143] Today some of the fire-brick from the kilns, still carrying traces of glazing, are incorporated in the walls of a manufacturing plant on the same site.

The chronicle of the Glasgow Poterie d'Iberville reveals something of the change taking place within the industry in the last years of the nineteenth century. Dakin had seen the direction of the future in introducing his vitreous (or non-absorbent) sanitary earthenware in 1895. In the decade before this it had become apparent to other men too that sanitary pottery could provide home industry with a sound basis for survival; by the end of the century it seemed clear it would be the only basis for the local survival of the ceramic industry. Since about 1873 sanitary earthenware had been produced in the United States and imported into Canada to compete with British goods. But the cost of importing such bulky items pushed up prices. By 1888 all but two of the St.

Johns-Iberville potteries lay idle and a skilled labour force built up by the formerly active industry was serving no useful purpose. Idle kilns, equipment and men could be put to work if an attempt was made to undercut the expensive imported sanitary pottery. Two specialized companies were founded in 1889: the Dominion Sanitary Pottery Company and the Caledonia Pottery. They soon won for themselves a clear hold on the market.

The first sanitary earthenware made in Canada seems to have been produced in the former Blackburn and Rowe pottery on Allen (Cousins) Street in St. Johns. This pottery had been sponsored by the Blacks in 1882 and first operated by William Blackburn of Montreal (who directed finances), Andrew Blackburn of Kemptville (who added his capital) and John Rowe, a potter of St. Johns, who managed the plant and produced the necessary moulds for the production of white earthenware to begin.[144] The usual trademark was a large British coat-of-arms and underneath it the words: IRON STONE CHINA/BLACKBURN, ROWE & CO. But production ceased in 1884 and the entire enterprise reverted to the Blacks[145] who sold it five years later to the Dominion Sanitary Pottery Company, the brain-child of Elijah Bowler of St. Johns.

Bowler had the practicality born of many years' experience weathering the vicissitudes of the industry. He was apparently one of the first employees of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company and in 1877 had set up an independent pottery in the factory built by Olivier Deslauriers and Amable Maillet in 1876 in St. Johns but unused by them.[146] Bowler bought the plant with another potter, John Reade, and together they started production. The partnership was dissolved in November 1878 and Bowler ran the plant alone for the next five years.[147] It was during the brief period of trade revival and at first he did well. In 1880 with some financial help from the St. Johns Municipal Council and several other loans,[148] he expanded the plant, building two new kilns, and almost doubling the number of his employees. "Bird's Eye View of St. Johns," painted in 1881 by H. Wellge, shows the impressive size of Bowler's factory, identified as the "St. Johns Porcelain Works." But it was proving too much for Bowler to shoulder alone. In October 1882 he divided the pottery, leasing half to his son-in-law Wesley Knight to supervise Rockingham and yellowware production, and leaving the other half free for white earthenware production under his own guidance, helped by his son William. It seemed a sensible move, but business conditions were deteriorating rapidly and the pottery had to keep seeking financial aid just to stay alive. There were payments to be made to the municipal council for a $2,000-loan. Other creditors accumulated. It was impossible to keep up. The mortgagee assumed title to the property and in 1883 Bowler reorganized,[149] forming a partnership (E. Bowler and company) with his son and son-in-law. A reshuffle of this kind was no answer to a depression. Their finished wares stayed in the pottery and there was little use in continuing production, once the stockpile of raw material was exhausted, if they couldn't sell their work.[150] On December 28, 1884 the factory was destroyed by fire.[151] It was not rebuilt. The title passed subsequently to the Merchants Bank of Canada which later sold part of it for the widening of Thomas Street.

There is no clear record of Bowler's activities in the next four years though he may have continued operations for a while in Gillespie's old pottery. He

reappears distinctly in the record in January 1889 when with William Baxter Malcolm of Toronto, a dealer in plumbers' supplies, he purchased the Blackburn, Rowe and Company pottery from the Blacks and started the Dominion Sanitary Pottery Company, specializing in sanitary ware.[152] The first closet apparently produced in Canada was a two-piece model copied from one imported from their home warehouse in Scotland by Thomas Robertson and Company of Montreal and known as a "crown bowl and trap."[153] Elijah Bowler headed the company until his death in 1894 and shortly afterwards Malcolm withdrew, leaving control of the company to Elijah Bowler's son William and son-in-law Wesley Knight who thus resumed within this new firm the partnership abruptly terminated a decade before.[154]

Ten months after the foundation of the Dominion Sanitary Pottery Company, William Anderson Campbell (formerly a warehouseman with the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company) and Charles Watson Purvis (a potter) established a rival concern: the Caledonia Pottery.[155] They began operations in November 1889 in the former Queen Street pottery of William Jones and soon expanded, developing a substantial business within a short period of time. The St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company recognized the new trend and began the manufacture of sanitary pottery in 1890, decorating their sanitary wares together with table and toilet wares in the same shop at the same time, firing them all in the same kilns under the same conditions.[156] The less expensive closets were made in a cane and white combination much like that used for kitchen bowls; the more expensive closets mostly in a white body embossed with designs in relief similar to Rockingham or yellowware designs or hand-decorated to order.

But the new wares were not to be lumped in with the old. The market demanded greater efficiency. F.B. Dakin's alertness in switching to an improved vitreous body, impervious to moisture, in 1895 (at much the same time as this was introduced in the United States) had not saved his company. By 1898 Dakin's Iberville pottery had fallen by the wayside. And the French ceramists brought in to bolster up the remnant of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company were on the verge of defeat. The two specialist companies then had a clear field, and were made more efficient by Henderson Black's sponsorship of the Potters' Manufacturing Association which joined them together for marketing purposes.[157] In January 1900 the P.M.A. Catalogue was advertising the "Richelieu" closet as "The Standard Washout Closet of Canada and the Best and Cheapest Closet in the World"! The vitreous body was now offered at only a slight increase in price and the St. Johns companies could proclaim themselves "the only manufacturers of Sanitary Earthenware in the Dominion."[158]

William Bowler died in March 1901 and the Dominion Sanitary Pottery Company fell to the sole direction of Wesley Knight.[159] Charles Purvis retired from the Caledonia Pottery a few months later and William Campbell became sole owner.[160] Between 1902 and 1903 a third factory, the Richelieu Pottery was set up jointly by Campbell and Knight in the former Canada Pottery plant on St. George Street. Knight withdrew from this in September 1903 to concentrate on his own firm, leaving Campbell to run two plants for the next two years.[161] In 1905 both the Caledonia Pottery and the Richelieu Pottery were absorbed into a new enterprise—Canadian Trenton Potteries

Company Limited, in association with the Trenton Potteries Company of Trenton, New Jersey.[162] This new organization had the advantage of being able to draw on the advanced techniques of the American industry in turning out the highest grade of sanitary earthenware. Wesley Knight, however, refused to merge his Dominion Sanitary Pottery Company into the new firm and he continued independently by producing a limited line of the more staple items of sanitary ware. His son took over from him and in 1920 the title passed to the Dominion Sanitary Pottery Company Limited. Operations continued until about 1939.[163]

The sole survivor today is the Canadian Potteries Division of Crane Canada Limited, successor in 1920 to the Canadian Trenton Potteries Company Limited.[164] Sanitary ware, exclusively in vitreous china, is now produced in a modern plant with tunnel kilns built in 1929-31 in the suburbs of St. Johns. Here the skilled hand-craft methods developed over two centuries in the Richelieu valley area turn out over 400,000 pieces a year. The St. George Street pottery, the last of the old earthenware potteries of St. Johns, kept functioning until 1944 when the property was finally sold to the city.[165]

One brief sidetrack was made into "fancy lines" during the depression of the 1930s in order to keep the Canadian Potteries Limited plant and personnel employed. At first these items, including ash trays and beer mugs carried the company's usual trademark, "Made in C.P.L./Canada" and appeared in the standard vitreous body, finished with a standard glaze.[166] Between 1931 and 1933 an amateur artist and potter of Montreal, Mrs. Beatrice Rickards, carved models by hand for a group of 25 flower vases and bowls and some items on a dragon-fly motif or depicting crab-apples or poppies advertised as "Pottery Gems for the Garden or Conservatory."[167] These were offered in matt or bright glazes and in a wide variety of colour combinations. They carried the mark "Canadian Potteries Limited, St. Johns, Que." in a circle and in the centre the word "VITRIAN" displayed on a pennant. Another group of VITRIAN products consisted of 30 vases of plain design in a variety of shapes, colours and glazes; and an elaborate pedestal for a *jardinière*, a bird bath, sun dial or "gazing globe."

A few spittoons, kitchen bowls and water jugs mostly in plain white were also produced with the VITRIAN trademark but they were discontinued as soon as the market improved and the plant could resume its production of sanitary ware. Smallware with the VITRIAN mark was completely phased out during the 1950s.

The eighteenth century had seen the beginnings of pottery-making in the Richelieu valley with the earthenware vessels of the individual Saint-Denis potters. Their workshops fell into decline as the Farrars introduced the production of harder stoneware into Canada at St. Johns. One of the Farrars, closely connected with the Vermont potters, led the way into the home production of white earthenware which reached the peak of its popularity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But imports maintained their hold on the Canadian market despite what had at first seemed a strong challenge. By a process of natural selection the ceramics industry of the Richelieu valley, surging forward in bursts of enthusiasm, choked back by economic realities, was forced to narrow its focus and confine itself to the production of sanitary ware, the one product with which it could compete successfully and survive after two centuries of transmutation.

St. Johns (St-Jean)

Site no. 1

Farrar and Soule, Longueuil & Partition (St. George) Streets	1840-52
Gillespie and Soule	1852-54
Eben L. Farrar	1854
E.L. and M. Farrar	ca.1854-55
E.L. and G.W. Farrar	ca.1855-57
O.L. Ballard	1857-58
G.W. Farrar	1858-66
G.H. Farrar	1866-68
G.H. and L.E. Farrar	1968-71
St. Johns Steam Power Stone Ware Factory	1871-75
G.W. Farrar (before the move to Iberville)	1876
Canada Pottery (Wm. Livesley & Co.)	1881-82
C.E. Pearson & Co. (British Porcelain)	1882-85
The British Porcelain Manufacturing Co. (F.B. Dakin)	1885-ca 1892
Macdonald's "small pottery"	1893-96
The Canada Stone Chinaware Co.	1897-99
Richelieu Pottery	ca.1902-5
Canadian Trenton Potteries Co. Ltd.	1905-20
Canadian Potteries Division of Crane Limited	1920-44

Site no. 2

Moses Farrar, Partition (St. George) and Grant (Laurier) Streets	1852-54
G.W. Farrar	1855

Site no. 3

Gillespie and Mace, Partition and John (Mercier) Streets	1857-58
John Gillespie	1858-60
Possibly run for J.T. Hazen	ca.1865-72

Site no. 4

St. Johns Stone Chinaware Co., Partition & Grant Streets	1873-77
E.C. Macdonald (Macdonald's pottery)	1878-96
The Canada Stone Chinaware Co.	1897-99

Site no. 5

Deslauriers and Maillet, Thomas (Foch) Street	1876-77
Bowler and Reade	1877-78
Elijah Bowler (St. Johns Porcelain Works)	1878-83
E. Bowler & Co.	1883-84

Site no. 6

Jones & Bowers (Queen Street Pottery)	1880-81
William Jones	1881-83
Jones & Co.	1883
Matheson & Jones	1884
Campbell & Purvis (Caledonia Pottery)	1889-1905
Canadian Trenton Potteries Co. Ltd.	1905-20

Site no. 7

Sherratt & Bacon, Queen (Bouthillier) & Glass Factory Streets (today Gouin Boulevard)	1882-84
William Sherratt	1884-86
William Brown	1886-87

St. Johns (St-Jean) (cont'd.)	Site no. 8	
	Blackburn & Rowe, Allen (Cousins) Street	1882-83
	Blackburn, Rowe & Co.	1883-84
	Dominion Sanitary Pottery Co.	1889-1920
	(Bowler & Malcolm, 1889-94)	
	(Bowler, Malcolm & Knight, 1894)	
	(Bowler & Knight, 1895-1920)	
	Dominion Sanitary Pottery Co. Ltd.	1920-39
	Central Pottery Ltd.	1940
	Site no. 9	
	Standard Drain Pipe Co.	1884-1912
	Standard Clay Products Ltd.	1912-1960s
	Site no. 10	
	Hammond & Mostyn, St. Peter Street	1876
Iberville	Site no. 11	
	Hammond & Mostyn, St. George Street	1877-78
	Glasgow Poterie d'Iberville	1877-92
	C.E. Pearson	1878-82
	D.E. Palmer	1882-86
	Calixte Goyette	1886-92
	Central Stone Chinaware Co. (Goyette & Melançon)	1892-94
	Dominion Porcelain Works (Dakin & Pelletier)	1894-95
	F.B. Dakin & Co.	1895-ca.1898
	William Jones	ca.1903
	Canada Pottery Co. (drain pipes)	ca.1906-10
	Site no. 12	
	G.W. Farrar, Napier (1st) and Mary (4th) Streets	1876-81
	E.L. Farrar Pottery Works	1882-1918
	Canada Stoneware Works	1918-26
	Sheppard, Knight & Campbell	1926-30
	Site no. 13	
	Goyette & Cie., Napier Street	1885
	Bertrand & Lavoie	1885-95
	G.H. and E.L. Farrar	1900-1912
Montreal	Site no. 14	
	West End Dresden Pottery, Ste-Cunégonde	1877-ca.1879
	The Stafford Pottery (Mark H. Tomkins & Co.)	ca.1879-83
	Site no. 15	
	Jones & Robinson, St. Patrick Street	1890-ca.1895
	Montreal Pottery Co.	1895-1905

Notes

1. Marius Barbeau, Potiers canadiens (Société Royale du Canada, *Mémoires*, sec. I, 1941), p. 13.

2. Archives judiciaires de Québec, Greffe de Louis Chambalon, 20 mai 1694. (Archives judiciaires de Québec referred to hereafter as AJQ).

3. L'Abbé J.B.A. Allaire, *Histoire de la Paroisse de Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu* (St-Hyacinthe, 1905), pp. 18-19.

4. Archives judiciaires de St-Hyacinthe, Greffe de M. Jehanne, 17 août 1776. (Referred to hereafter as AJStH.)

5. *Ibid.*, 15 mars 1786.

6. AJStH, Greffe de Louis Bourdages, no. 2068, 25 juin 1816.

7. *Ibid.*, Greffe de M. Jehanne, 1 juillet 1784.

8. *Ibid.*, 22 novembre 1785.

9. AJStH, Greffe de Ch. Michau, 24 mai 1794 and 10 mai 1799.

10. *Ibid.*, 9 mars 1796.

11. AJStH, Greffe de Louis Bourdages, no. 1204, 14 juillet 1810.

12. *Ibid.*, Greffe de Ch. Michau, 11 juin 1788.

13. *See* AJStH, Greffe de P.P. Dutalme, 31 mars 1814. Allaire, *Histoire de la Paroisse de Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu*, pp. 341-47.

14. Allaire, *Histoire de la Paroisse de Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu*, p. 345.

15. *See* Joseph Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America*, vol. I (London, 1832), pp. 350-51.

16. Mason Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760-1945* (Toronto, 1955), pp. 375 and 385.

17. AJStH, Greffe de J.E. Mignault, no. 3051, 25 juin 1839.

18. *Ibid.*, 22 mars 1844.

19. The notes in this paragraph are taken from the census returns of 1851, 1861, and 1871; Lovell's Directories for 1851, 1864-65, 1871 and 1891; Michell's Business Directory for 1857 and various notarial records and entries in the registers of the parish of Saint-Denis.

20. The high growth rate is indicated by the number of concessions of land made by the seigneur. Between June 5 and November 17, 1841, through Notary P.P. Demaray alone, the Baron de Longueuil made 59 new concessions.

21. The Brantford Stoneware Works was established in 1844 and Hart Bros. and Lazier at Belleville were established in 1848.

22. Moses Farrar declared his Canadian birth in the census returns for 1851. *See* Census of Canada East, Co. of Chambly, village of St. Johns 91. He seems to have been born in Montreal about 1810. His father held an Auctioneer's Bond in Montreal in 1806. *See* Public Archives of Canada, RG4.B.28, vols. 9-10, "Ross Correspondence"; Auctioneers' Bonds 1805-1812, September 10, 1806.

23. Archives judiciaires de Montréal, Greffe de N.B. Doucet, nos. 26,972 and 26, 974; 17 and 19 octobre 1840. (Hereafter referred to as AJM.)

24. Moses C. Farrar, son of Moses' brother James Farrar who was a joiner and carpenter of Highgate, Vermont. *See* Archives judiciaires de St-Jean, Greffe de P.P. Demaray, no. 4971, 5 août 1847. (Hereafter referred to as AJStJ.)

25. One of the earliest was Narcisse Maillet who was engaged on May 1, 1846 for a period of three years. (See *ibid.*, no. 4831, 9 mai 1846.) His older brother Amable also seems to have been a potter with Farrar and Soule.

26. *Ibid.*, no. 5249, 11 avril 1848.

27. AJStJ, Greffe de T.R. Jobson, no. 2005, 3 mai and no. 2013, 11 mai 1852.

28. *Ibid.*, Greffe de P.P. Demaray, no. 5994, 11 novembre 1852.

29. Bureau d'Enregistrement, comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. I, p. 394, no. 249, 14 mars 1857.

30. AJStJ, Greffe de T.R. Jobson, no. 4968, 29 février 1860.

31. *See* Ville de St-Jean, *Rôle d'Évaluation des Bien Fonds*, 1865, p. 14; 1868, p. 4; 1871, p. 4. *See also* Bureau d'Enregistrement, comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 10, p. 87, no. 5216, 10 avril 1869 and vol. 13, p. 258, no. 6705, 20 avril 1872.

32. Elijah Bowler seems to have operated here in 1888 (see *The Eastern Townships Business and Farmers Directory for 1888-89*) but certainly it was among the properties associated with the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company sold to the Canada Stone Chinaware Company in 1897.

33. AJStJ, Greffe de T.R. Jobson, no. 2024, 24 mai 1852.

34. *Ibid.*, no. 2466, 4 mars 1854.

35. *Ibid.*, no. 2913, 17 août 1855. The spelling may have been George Whitefield Farrar, see Elizabeth Collard, *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada* (Montreal, 1967), fn. p. 426.

36. An advertisement to this effect appeared in John Lovell, *Canada Directory for 1857-58*, p. 1273. This indicates the introduction of double-firing techniques, new glazing processes, and probably the use of the moulds comparable to those being introduced at this time in the Vermont potteries.

37. *See* Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery*, p. 273. Ebenezer Farrar died in the St. Lawrence steamboat calamity together with his brother Stephen.

38. AJStJ, Greffe de T.R. Jobson, no. 4032, 16 novembre 1857.

39. *Ibid.*, no. 4077, 11 janvier 1858. A possibility exists that Ballard may have continued activities in Canada, *see* Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery*, pp. 292-93.

40. Census of Canada East 1861, Co. of St. Johns, town of St. Johns, p. 174.

41. AJStJ, Greffe de T.R. Jobson, no. 7578, 6 mars 1866.

42. *Ibid.*, Greffe de F.G. Marchand, nos. 2615 and 2617, 30 septembre 1868.

43. Ville de St-Jean, *Rôle d'Évaluation des Biens Fonds*, 1868 and 1871.

44. For example, the crockery house of McCaghey, Dolbec and Co. in Quebec City (*see* AJQ, Greffe de C.H. Andrews, no. 1777, 27 novembre 1873).

45. For instance at 12 per cent; *see* AJStJ, Greffe de T.R. Jobson, no. 10,059, 4 août 1873.

46. In 1874 an agreement was made with agent Louis Deneau for remittance to the Farrars at 45 per cent discount from prices shown in the firm's price list for sales in Montreal and a discount of 50 per cent for sales outside Montreal. See *ibid.*, Greffe de F.G. Marchand, no 3488, 14 novembre 1874.

47. AJStJ, Greffe de J.A. Fournier, nos. 2097 and 2099, 10 décembre 1875.

48. First with son Lucius E., then alone. *Ibid.*, nos. 2095 and 2098 of 10 décembre 1875 and no. 2369 of 5 juin 1876.

49. *Ibid.*, no. 3031, 8 mars 1877. In 1885 Lucius E. Farrar was living in Fort Gratiot, Mich. (see Bureau d'Enregistrement, St-Jean, Register B, vol. 31, p. 165, no. 14,991).

50. *See* Yvonne Labelle, *Monographie d'Iberville* (St-Jean, 1958), p. 218.

51. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 36, p. 167, no. 20,607.

52. United Church of Canada, St. Johns, Registers, 1881, folio 197.

53. Bureau d'Enregistrement, comté d'Iberville, Register C, vol. 1, no. 129.

54. *Ibid.*, no. 133.

55. *Ibid.*, no. 166.

56. *Ibid.*, Register B, vol. 49, p. 533, no. 30,774.

57. *Ibid.*, vol. 50, p. 30, no. 31,501.

58. During the summer of 1900 he accompanied the Mayor of Iberville and François Gosselin, M.P.P., on a trip to Ottawa to see Sir Wilfrid Laurier and make representations on the need for dredging the bed of the river to permit boats to come into the wharfs at low water (Municipal Council, Town of Iberville, *Minutes*, August 1, 1900).

59. Bureau d'Enregistrement, comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 59, p. 678, no. 40,711.

60. *Ibid.*, vol. 64, p. 132, no. 44,427.

61. *Ibid.*, vol. 70, p. 21, no. 48,631.

62. *Ibid.*, vol. 76, p. 52, no. 52,838.

63. This information is contained in a letter dated November 22, 1935 from G.H. Sheppard to Mrs. R.J. Sutherland and retained by Mrs. Sutherland.

64. *Quebec Official Gazette*, 1873, p. 1336.

65. AJStJ, Greffe de F.G. Marchand, no. 3155, 8 mai 1873; and Greffe d'Eug. Archambault, no. 1905, 31 mai 1873.

66. Public Archives of Canada, MG8, F.77. First report of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company.

67. Capital stock increased from $50,000 to $100,000 by the end of 1875 *(Quebec Official Gazette*, 1875, pp. 2702-3).

68. AJStJ, Greffe de D. Carreau, no 2568, 9 novembre 1877.

69. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 22, p. 398, no. 10,785.

70. Town of St. Johns, Municipal Council, *Minutes of Meeting*, January 19, 1880; AJStJ, Greffe d'Eug. Archambault, no. 4756, 31 mars 1880; *La Minerve*, Montréal, 25 octobre 1880, p.3.

71. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 30, p. 329, no. 14,551.

72. *Ibid.*, vol. 27, p. 690, no. 13,246.

73. *Ibid.*, vol. 32, p. 64, no. 15,543. *See also* Ville de St-Jean, *Rôle d'Évaluation des Biens Fonds*, 1887, items 209 and 210.

74. *See* items 209 and 210 above, and Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 34, p. 739, no. 17,374.

75. Bixby and Co., *Commercial Industries of Canada: Province of Quebec* (Toronto, 1888), p. 148.

76. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 35, p. 123, no. 17,568.

77. This inventory book was included among miscellaneous papers in the Archives judiciaires de St-Jean.

78. The inventory of January 1893 showed only a few scallops in "old wheat."

79. *The Montreal Daily Herald*, March 6, 1893, p. 1.

80. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 37, p. 491, no. 19,931. Alexander Macdonald was assessed for taxes on the idle Canada Pottery for 1892, *see* Ville de St-Jean, *Rôle d'Évaluation des Biens Fonds*, 1892, lot no. 320.

81. It is not included in Lovell's *Business and Professional Directory for the Province of Quebec for 1890-91* (Montreal, 1890).

82. The name was changed from Village Delisle to Village Ste-Cunégonde in 1877.

83. AJM, Greffe de Theo. Doucet, no. 14,289, 27 novembre 1876.

84. *Quebec Official Gazette*, 1877, p. 1424.

85. At the Dominion Exhibition in Montreal in September 1880 M.H. Tomkins won first prize for his pottery and honourable mention for his door knobs, and diploma "highly recommended" for his "Mazarine Ware." By 1882 he placed more emphasis on crockery and on fire clay goods such as fire bricks, fire blocks, quarries and stove linings. Directories of 1884 made no reference to the company and in February 1885 the property was sold to Thos. Davidson & Co. for manufacturing purposes.

86. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 25, p. 410, no. 12,129.

87. AJStJ, Greffe de F.G. Marchand, no. 4925, 27 octobre 1882.

88. See notice of intent to apply for Letters Patent, *Quebec Official Gazette*, 1883, p. 880.

89. AJStJ, Greffe de O.N.E. Boucher, no. 2552, 7 septembre 1883.

90. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 29, p. 502, no. 14,139.

91. See *The Philadelphia Exhibition 1876* (London, Education Department, 1877), vol. I, *Reports*, p. 50.

92. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 30, p. 583, no. 14,732.

93. *See* Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 31, p. 167, no. 14,992; and vol. 35, p. 801, no. 18,361.

94. *The Eastern Townships Business and Farmers Directory for 1888-89* (St. Johns, 1888). But Allen, a potter who seems to have come to St. Johns in 1886, left and was living in New Milford, Connecticut by January 1888 (*see* AJStJ, Greffe de O.N.E. Boucher, no. 3831, 3 janvier 1888).

95. But F.B. Dakin seems to have remained on the property until about 1892. According to his son, Dakin was born in 1835 at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia where his father was publisher of the *Yarmouth Herald*.

96. Ville de St-Jean, *Rôle d'Évaluation des Biens Fonds*, 1895, lot no. 524.

97. As evidence of this, *see* Lovell's *Business and Professional Directory*, 1896, p. 1070.

98. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 37, nos. 19,952 and 19,953.

99. *Ibid.*, vol. 38, p. 169, no. 20,579.

100. Statutes of the Province of Quebec, 1897, c. 80.

101. AJStJ, Greffe de J.B.H. Beauregard, no. 7582A, 26 juin 1902.

102. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 40, p. 601, no. 22,901.

103. *Ibid.*, vol. 43, p.410, no. 25,010.

104. *Ibid.*, vol. 48, p. 243, no. 28,730.

105. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 18, p. 432, no. 9086; and Ville de St-Jean, *Rôle d'Évaluation des Biens Fonds*, 1876, p. 13, no. 448.

106. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 39, p. 735, no. 23,576. The assessment roll for 1877 placed a valuation of $150 on "vacant" land (Ville de St-Jean, *Rôle d'Évaluation des Biens Fonds*, 1877, p. 13, no. 444).

107. *Quebec Official Gazette*, 1877, p. 1629.

108. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 39, p. 734, no. 23,575.

109. By drowning on September 14, 1878, (St. James Church (Anglican), St. Johns, Registers 1878.) Mostyn was from Staffordshire. He had an uncle in Trenton, New Jersey.

110. AJStJ, Greffe de D. Tassé, no. 4673, 15 octobre 1878.

111. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 38, p. 746, no. 22,718.

112. Pearson exhibited crockery ware at the Dominion Exhibition in Montreal in 1880 and received the award of "diploma recommended." See *The Gazette*, Montreal, September 21, 1880, p. 3.

113. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 40, p. 478, no. 24, 254; and vol. 39, p. 736, no. 23,577.

114. Reported by *La Minerve*, Montréal, 25 août 1882, p. 3.

115. In 1881 while Palmer was living on his farm at Hinesburg, Vermont, he gave Pearson full power of attorney to act for him in his partnership in the firm of Tees and Palmer, wholesale merchants of St. Johns. The transfer of the Glasgow Poterie d'Iberville to him is recorded on November 25, 1882 (AJStJ, Greffe de J.B.H. Beauregard, no. 2025).

116. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 43, p. 797, no. 26, 293.

117. *The Gazette*, Montreal, September 28, 1886.

118. In 1880 the Municipal Council had petitioned the Provincial Legislature for authority to encourage industries to locate in Iberville by the grant of a bonus in the form of money, land and material (*see* Labelle, *Monographie d'Iberville*, p. 242).

119. Municipal Council of Iberville, *Minutes*, December 14 and 30, 1891, and February 3, 1892.

120. At salaries of at least $18,000 per annum.

121. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register C, vol. 1, no. 161.

122. *Ibid.*, Register B, vol. 48, p. 526, no. 29,769.

123. Municipal Council of Iberville, *Minutes*, November 10, 1893.

124. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 49, p. 520, no. 30,762.

125. The partnership was formalized on November 6, 1894 (Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register C, vol. 1, no. 178), and terminated sometime in 1895.

126. In the spring of 1899 the Municipal Council was tentatively discussing with the St. Davis Pottery Co. of Montreal re-opening the manufacture but nothing further came of this (Municipal Council of Iberville, *Minutes*, March 28 and April 21, 1899).

127. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 56, p. 530, no. 37,031.

128. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 24, p. 404, no. 11,662. *La Minerve*, Montréal, 6 novembre 1880.

129. AJStJ, Greffe de O.N.E. Boucher, no. 1972, 24 mars 1881; *La Minerve*, Montréal, 21 février 1882; AJStJ, Greffe de O.N.E. Boucher, no. 2100, 30 mai 1882.

130. AJStJ, Greffe de O.N.E. Boucher, no. 2940, 3 septembre 1884.

131. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Montréal (Parish), Register D, vol. 20, p. 644, no. 34,447.

132. Lovell's *Montreal Directory 1895-96*. *See also*, Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery*, p. 345, where reference is made to *The Herald*, November 26, 1898 giving 1893 as the beginning of the Montreal Pottery Co.

133. In 1906 the property was sold as vacant land. (Bureau d'Enregistrement, Montréal (Parish), Register D, vol. 88, p. 47, no. 126,616.

134. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 56, p. 613, no. 37,120 and vol. 58, p. 153, no. 38,854.

135. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 13, p. 575, no. 6877.

136. *Ibid.*, Register B, vol. 14, p. 632, no. 7375.

137. Municipal Council, Town of St. Johns, *Minutes*, September 1, 1879.

138. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 27, p. 396, no. 13,051.

139. *Ibid.*, vol. 29, p. 688, no. 14,260.

140. *Ibid.*, vol. 49, p. 451, no. 29,681.

141. Albert Clayton became sole owner of the Canada Pottery Company in March 1908 (Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté d'Iberville, Register B, vol. 57, p. 543, no. 38,136). But after he retired in 1910 and sold the enterprise to the Canada Pottery Company Limited of Iberville all production seems to have stopped (*ibid.*, Register B, vol. 59, p. 285, no. 40,200). The company was in liquidation by the beginning of 1912 (*ibid.*, vol. 65, p. 510, no. 45,544).

142. *Ibid.*, vol. 66, p. 92, no. 45,925. Information also supplied by Calixte Goyette's son, Origène Goyette of St. Johns, who took part in the work.

143 This information was supplied by R. Edwin Elliott of St. Johns, former General Manager of Canadian Potteries Limited.

144. AJStJ, Greffe de J.A. Fournier, no 5429, 16 décembre 1882; and nos. 5544 and 5545, 20 juin 1883.

145. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 30, p. 300, no. 14,351.

146. *Ibid.*, Register B, vol. 18, p. 163, no. 8915; and vol. 19, p. 724, no. 9,759.

147. AJStJ, Greffe de J.A. Fournier, no. 4036, 25 novembre 1878.

148. Municipal Council, Town of St. Johns, *Minutes*, October 10 and 24, 1879.

149. AJStJ, Greffe de O.N.E. Boucher, no. 2563 [illegible], 21 septembre 1883.

150. The value of the finished and unfinished ware on hand in Wesley Knight's manufacture ($1,112.50) as compared with the value of his raw material ($11) reveals their difficulties.

151. AJStJ, Greffe de O.N.E. Boucher, no. 3095, 21 mars 1885.

152. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 33, p. 750, no. 16,679. Lovell's *Business and Professional Directory of the Province of Quebec for 1890-91* (Montreal, 1890), p. 950.

153. Information from R. Edwin Elliott. *See also* J.D. Brosseau, *Saint-Jean de Québec* (St-Jean, ca. 1938), pp. 250-53.

154. AJStJ, Greffe de O.N.E. Boucher, no. 5220, 25 septembre 1894. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 37, p. 407, no. 19,855.

155. AJStJ, Greffe de J.A. Fournier, no. 6622, 24 janvier 1890.

156. As evidenced by the inventory of Gloss Kiln No. 1 unloaded January 18, 1896 and Biscuit Kiln No. 3 unloaded January 20, 1896.

157. Information from R. Edwin Elliott of St. Johns who was associated with this organization from 1903.

158. P.M.A. Catalogue and Standard Price List, January 1, 1900.

159. United Church of Canada, St. Johns, Register 1901, 59th leaf. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 40, p. 4, no. 22,401.

160. Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 40, p. 58, no. 22,448.

161. *Ibid.*, vol. 40, p. 687, no. 22,978; and vol. 42, p. 691, no. 24,460.

162. *Ibid.*, vol. 42, p. 723, no. 24,491.

163. Dominion Sanitary Pottery Company Limited: *see* Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 57, p. 308, no. 35,664. The property was bought in June 1940 by the Central Pottery Limited but a fire early in 1941 destroyed the pottery completely (*ibid.*, vol. 75, p. 576, no. 50,319).

164. The Canadian Trenton Potteries Co. Ltd. had expanded rapidly, adding new machinery and even eating up in 1906 the former warehouse and storage sheds of the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Co. (Bureau d'Enregistrement, Comté de St-Jean, Register B, vol. 43, p. 410, no. 25,010). The porous earthenware body had become a thing of the past by then. Catalogue A of January 1, 1907 issued by the Potters' Manufacturing Association could boast: "We are turning out VITREOUS SANITARY EARTHENWARE, far excelling our former product and equal to anything of foreign manufacture." The Trenton Potteries Company kept its interest in the St. Johns plant until May 7, 1920 when it withdrew and Canadian Potteries Limited was organized to fill the gap (*ibid.*, vol. 56, p. 778, no. 35,426). Crane Limited took control soon after.

165. *Ibid.*, vol. 79, p. 706, no. 53,292.

166. The beer mugs (made for a brewery) were in a buff body with a clear glaze and a design printed under-glaze in black.

167. The information on these wares is drawn from brochures, advertisements and other papers in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. R. Edwin Elliott of St. Johns.